COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Friday, February 5, 1802.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

AFTER much private business had been transacted, relative to petitions, appeals, &c.

Lord Holland presented a petition from the Insolvent Debtors in the King's Bench Prison, as well as from those in several of the provincial county gaols, which were ordered to lie on the table. His lordship applied to Lord Moira, to know whether that noble lord intended shortly to bring forward certain propositions, relative to insolvent debtors, of which he had given notice.

Lord Moira replied, that his propositions were not yet perfectly matured, but they were in such a state of forwardness, that he should soon be enabled to submit them to the House. Their object was to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of acts of insolvency.

Their lordships then adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

An account was brought up, shewing how the money granted for the service of last year had been disposed of.

Lord Glenbervie brought up a bill for amending so much of the act for regulating the sale of fish, as relates to eels. It was read a first time, and was ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

Sir H. Mildmay expressed his intention of moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act of the 32d of Geo. II. commonly called the Lords' Act. It related to the relief of unfortunate debtors.

Lord Glenbervie said, that as a very large part of the community was much interested on the subject, and as the law in question had remained in force for upwards of half a century, he hoped Sir H. would not bring forward his motion too precipitately.

Sir H. Mildmay withdrew his motion till Monday.

The House in a committee on the Southern Whale Fishery Bill, agreed, on the motion of Lord Glenbervie, that it was necessary to amend the said bill.

Mr. W. Dundas expressed a desire to postpone his motion for applying the sum of £54,000 to the purpose of building bridges and making roads, from the middle to the North of Scotland.

Mr. Vansittart brought up an account of all places held by patent, or for life, which was ordered to lie on the table.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider of a supply to be granted to his Majesty.

The order being read, and the accounts laid before the House of the extraordinaries of the army, and the navy debt, as it stood on the 31st of December last; and also certain expenses of the militia, &c. the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House accordingly, Mr. Alexander in the chair.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on opening the army extraordinaries, observed, that the committee was now in possession of accounts of the application of £2,500,000 granted last session, for defraying extraordinary expenses, and of the manner in which a sum of money, raised on a vote of credit, had been expended. An account of the expenses of the army, beyond that included in the estimate of last year, was also before the House. With reference to the sum of £2,500,000, or to the vote of credit, which was submitted to the discretion of government, he was concerned to state the excess in the army was £1,847,000. The various articles, of which this excess was composed might be reckoned under different heads. The sums paid to Mr. Wood, Deputy Commissary General on the Continent, amounted to £260,000; but he said, that although he felt it incumbent on him,

to advert to the papers now before the committee, he felt himself also liable to be called on to give any explanation of other expenditures which grew out of these particular heads of service, although not specified in these papers. He said, that the sum of £260,000 advanced to Mr. Wood, was a great, though unavoidable, expense; it was for discharging the subsidiary treaties with the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg, and for paying the Swiss troops under the Prince of Condé. Every measure, he said, had been taken to prevent these demands from exceeding their proper limit. The individual by whose authority the draughts were drawn was Mr. Wickham, a gentleman of undoubted honour and integrity; yet no bill was honoured without having been examined by the comptrollers of army accounts, and the auditors of public accounts. Although every precaution had been taken to ensure the proper application of this money, yet he was aware that the excess which he had stated must attract the attention of the committee, and was therefore desirous of stating the nature of the services to which the expenditure had been applied. In the Bavarian corps the estimate fell short by £10,000, but in the three other corps the advantage was on the side of the public. Mr. Addington then observed, that there were two other heads of expenditure, on which he should say a few words. The largest was that of bills drawn from Egypt, in the spring and autumn of the preceding year. It amounted to the sum of £1,540,000. Though this sum was far beyond his expectations, yet he would wish it to be examined with as much jealousy as if we had been disappointed in the expedition. The expenditure of the service in question was in the hands of Mr. Motz, and there was no controul over his accounts. His own disappointment, Mr. Addington observed, arose from the length of the service; but when it was considered that this great expenditure was under the immediate inspection of Mr. Motz, and had been submitted to the minute inspection of the comptrollers, the committee had as good a security as the nature of the case would admit. Mr. Addington then adverted to the expenses incurred in the West-Indies, and which were defrayed by the payment of bills drawn by the commissary there, upon which there was an excess, beyond the estimate, of £420,370. He could not but observe that a considerable expense arose from the equipment of a force against the Dan West-India Islands, and from the enorm price of provisions there. He thought these expenditures were proper, but a sp cial commission had been issued for t purpose of making all necessary inquir as to the disbursement of the money, on t spot. It was his intention to lay bef the committee the whole of the expen of last year; but he might save them so trouble, by calling their attention to so other accounts, not connected with th before-mentioned. It appeared that debt of the navy, on the 31st of Decem last, amounted to £9,075,070.—The s voted the preceding year was £8,785,0 The sum voted generally for the navy, w 17 millions, but out of that a great p was applied in the payment of var charges, such as the salaries, &c.—wo men in the dock yards—and the remain to pay off bills at 90 days, for dema under the head of victualling, &c. With gard to the navy, the committee would collect the amount of ships of the line the augmentation of other shipping at period. To him it was matter of satis tion and surprise that the difference tween the balance in the hands of treasurer of the navy, and the sum rece ed in the Exchequer, in the year 1801, of the supplies granted for the service the present year, did not amount to m than £1,178,226. The excess under the h of victualling was indeed £1,598,000, a large proportion of it was applied to expenses of part of the army. It was dent at present to diminish the debt of navy, but till it was ascertained what w be the extent of our naval establishm the amount of our naval debt could not calculated. For the discharge of the debt, however, he should propose that sum of £2,000,000 be voted to his Maj by the committee. As to the extra naries of the army, he should propos sum to the full amount of the excess. therefore moved, "That it is the opin "of this committee that a sum not exc "ing £1,847,174 be granted to his "jesty towards defraying the expenses "curred and paid by the right hon. "paymaster-general of his Majesty's for "in the year 1801, and not provided "by Parliament."

The question being put,

Mr. Robson said, he was under the ne sity of entering at some length on this ject. In July last, when there was a of credit granted, he thought it would

necessary to grant a larger sum, but he was told that the sum then granted would answer every purpose; he was, however, now surprised to find that the army extraordinaries amounted to £5,600,000, and the time which had been given to members to consider the papers, was short beyond example. The manner in which the House had been led on, was a matter of serious alarm, for it was not long since the Chancellor of the Exchequer applied for five million of money, when there were not above ten members in the house. Notwithstanding the economy of our administration, he should expect something more than panegyrics upon the commissaries, and he wished for more correct papers than those before the House, which were almost all without dates, so that it was impossible to tell what part of expense had been incurred before or since the union. He thought we should have a dormant peace with the expense of a war; since he had seen what Buonaparté had done with regard to the Cisalpine Republic. Ministers certainly could not have known Buonaparté's intention, or they never would have made the peace; he would not have approved of the peace, if he had known them. There appeared to him to be many charges in the army extraordinaries which belonged to the civil list: what, for instance, had the money given to ambassadors to do with the army extraordinaries? There were large sums of money paid to Mr. Windham, our minister at Florence; to Sir W. Hamilton, the envoy at Naples, &c. There was a charge which astonished and alarmed him; this was, a bill drawn by a Mr. Bale, at Malta, for £67,000. There was also a sum of half a million drawn for by Colonel Ramsay. He wished to know for what service this charge had been incurred; because there was no account of it before the House, nor any date to it. There appeared also to have been bills drawn from St. Domingo: he thought that General Maitland, by giving up the Island, had put an end to the drains from that quarter. The army extraordinaries for the Bahama Islands, amounted to no less than £26,000 which was a most extraordinary charge, for there was but one regiment there, and that was a skeleton one. The charge of the extraordinaries for Jamaica, was £119,000. It was very necessary to examine these accounts, and it was particularly hard upon Ireland, because that country would have two-seventeenths of the enormous sum to pay. It appeared that the bills drawn by the commissary in the West-Indies had exceeded the estimate by near half a million. In order to account for this enormous excess, the House ought to have something more than a plausible account of the good character of the commissaries; they might be very worthy men, but he knew that they generally went out poor, and came home very rich. The charges for the extraordinaries of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Canada, also appeared enormous, considering the force we had in that quarter. There was a heavy charge also for the black corps:—he wished to know, in what state these corps were?—There was a charge of £200,000 paid to Lord Minto. He wished to know, what that was for? There was a sum of £117,000 drawn for by Lord Elgin:—this also was without any date. Mr. Robson concluded by commenting on the charges of money paid to Foreign Princes, and on the sum paid to Captain D'Auvergne, of £15,000.

Mr. Martin expressed his thanks to the hon. gentleman for the trouble he had taken to investigate this business. He hoped, at the approaching general election, the people would choose persons who would take care of their pecuniary interests. He hoped the nation would now be disgusted with entering into foolish and unnecessary wars, in which the public money had been scandalously squandered. He would not have troubled the House, but for the purpose of calling the protection of the chair to the hon. gentleman who spoke last; his observations had been met with laughs and sneers.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he was convinced that every item of the accounts had been fairly applied:—he sincerely applauded a vigilant and jealous conduct on the part of that House, with regard to the expenditure of public money. He wished to have every part of the conduct of ministers investigated, particularly that part which related to the expenditure. The accounts in question had been presented by extraordinary diligence at a much earlier period than usual. He had clearly stated, that the expenses were divided under these heads. It having been found impossible to raise money for the army in Egypt, communications had been opened at Constantinople and Vienna by drawing bills on England, and transmitting the money to Egypt. This was the application of the money to Lord Minto, which had no connexion with his lordship's di-

plomatic character. The sums paid to the Foreign Princes had already attracted the attention of the House, and the payments were the result of positive obligations. The hon. gentleman, Mr. Robson, was in error with respect to the army extraordinaries, as it was impossible to confine the latter to charges merely military. With respect to the sum granted last year for the extraordinary expenses, he, Mr. Addington, then only expressed his hope that it would prove sufficient. He was ready to enter into any farther explanation, if the House desired it.

Mr. Jones said, Mr. Robson deserved general thanks: he agreed with Mr. Martin respecting those members who neglected their duty, and hoped that not one of them would be returned at the next general election. He condemned the profuse expenditure of the last administration; and concluded with wishing that the accounts could be rendered clearer by dates.

The Secretary at War entered upon an explanation of some of the items: of these the sum of £1500 was paid to the Duc de Choiseul for the loss of his property, while raising a regiment for the service of this country: others were £150,000 to the representatives of Mr. Smalley; £56,000 for the black corps. They amounted to 12,000, and had been of great use in the reduction of the Danish Islands.

Mr. Vansittart entered into a defence of the different articles of accounts, as objected to by Mr. Robson. The sum of £67,000 for bills drawn from Malta, was paid for the purchase of corn to send to this country. He accounted for those drawn on the continent, and those by Lord Balcarras, on account of Jamaica; the latter amounted to £119,000. Army extraordinaries, in foreign climates, bore a large proportion to the number of troops.

Mr. Robson thought the ministers had very fairly met his remarks, and he felt satisfied with their answers. But as the Exchequer Bills, of the distribution of which a paper was before the House, bore a premium of 30 per cent. he wished to know how the money arising from that premium was disposed of.

Mr. Vansittart replied, that though the premium was great, the public enjoyed the full benefit of it.

The motions were then agreed to.

The Secretary at War moved for the sum of £114,000 for the pay of the militia, from August to December, 1801, which was likewise agreed to. The House resumed, and the report was ordered to be receive on Monday. The committee of supply wa ordered to sit again on Monday. Th committee of ways and means was post poned till Monday. Mr. Robson postpon ed his motion relative to the Bank of Eng land, till Tuesday.

Monday, February 8.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

A variety of private business was di posed of.

Crewe's divorce bill was introduced *novo*, and ordered to be read a second tim on Thursday the 25th.

The Earl of Carlisle rose and adverted a subject of serious importance. He a luded to the sailing of a second fleet fro the ports of France for the West-Indies.

Lord Hobart said, that ministers had re ceived no official communication on th subject, and he did not know that such fleet had sailed.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

After some private business had be gone through, Mr. Alexander brought the report of the committee of supp which was read a first time. On the que tion for the second reading a debate some length took place, but very little ne matter of discussion transpired. We how ever consider it necessary to give a bri sketch of the observations made by

Mr. Tierney, who, in reply to Mr. Marti said he could not give way to those je lousies of his Majesty's ministers whi some gentlemen entertained, because h conceived them unfounded. Suspicion alo must not authorize any member to rej accounts that were brought before Par ment without a close and sedulous exam nation. The case of the army extraord naries was now different to what it w formerly. The late Chancellor of the E chequer had altered the mode former adopted, by bringing down an estimate the extraordinaries at the commencem of the session. But he would by no mea have it supposed that he was satisfied wi the accounts on the table; he thought was the duty of members to watch, wi the utmost care, over the expenditure the public money. A waste of such mon seemed evident in these accounts, but pa ticularly in respect to the charge for d murrage upon coals, going to Gibralt which was made at the rate of six pou

per chaldron. He believed many of the sums in these accounts belonged to the late administration; though the estimates brought forward by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer were in general remarkably accurate. But it was now a question whether he did not keep back sums which, if they had been brought forward at a proper time, would considerably have exceeded the estimates which he formed; for now we had arrived at the happy period of a peace, the present minister was saddled with the odium of bringing in accounts, for half the sums contained in which he was not responsible. He did not know, for want of dates, when the different bills had been drawn which had been paid by the treasury: indeed he thought that most enormous sums must have been kept back by the late administration. If gentlemen would take the trouble to reflect, they would find that £25,000,000 of the expenditure must now be brought forward, of which no account whatever had been given. He therefore wished a commission to be appointed for investigating this expenditure, when perhaps strange things would be brought to light. He was convinced the present Chancellor was economical, and should therefore support him, till he had reason to alter his opinion.

Mr. Steele, in reply to Mr. Tierney, said that, with respect to the coals, he admitted that the charge was too high, but it was owing to the insurance and other incidental demands. He was bound to say, in the absence of his friend (Mr. Pitt), that the idea of concealment of the public money never entered his mind. Sums which were due in 1809 were certainly paid in 1801, as the subsidies to the King of Sardinia, &c. He advised Mr. Robson to examine the accounts of the money paid to Lord Minto, when he would find it far different from a provision for a retired minister, and concluded with saying, that no one sum before the House had been improperly paid.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer defended the charges for coals, &c. on nearly the same grounds as Mr. Steele.

Mr. Nicholls paid some compliments to the integrity of Mr. Martin, but said, that whatever profusion might appear in the accounts, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not accountable for any of it. The expedition to Egypt would have been ruined, if he had not honoured the bills of his predecessor; yet he thought, if the expense in question was unavoidable, it would have been better for this country, had Egypt remained in possession of the French. He supported the ministers, on account of the pacific system which they had adopted.

Mr. Sturges attributed to Mr. Pitt the merit of sending a commission to the West-Indies, and asserted that Mr. Tierney's imputation against the late ministers was unfounded.

Mr. W. Dundas rose, and, with much warmth, entered into a defence of Mr. Pitt, against the charges of Mr Tierney. He said it would have been more generous in the hon. gentleman to have made his attack when Mr. Pitt had been present; he appealed to the House, whether the late minister had not always manifested the most incorruptible integrity. He hailed the return of peace, but could not agree with those who exclaimed against the necessity of the war. He admired the zeal of the minister's new allies, who were so anxious to express their political creed. An hon. member had called the present a scandalous account: it was a misapplied epithet. The items were incurred in the prosecution of a war, which was deemed necessary by ninety-nine persons out of every hundred; it was a war carried on for every thing that was dear to Englishmen; but now it was at an end, he had a right to declare himself a friend to the pacific system. Did the hon. gentleman, who had found fault with the Egyptian expedition, imagine that peace would have been obtained if that expedition had not taken place? As we were all happy at the peace, he was surprised that members should cavil at a little expence attendant on the measure which procured it.

Mr. Tierney begged leave to reply to the attack made upon him by Mr. Dundas, as his crime was only that of offering to support the present administration. He disclaimed all personalities, and did not impute any sinister view to the late minister in keeping back the public accounts. The present was his first attempt to support a minister, though Mr. Dundas had had more experience. For a young beginner he thought he had met with very harsh usuage. If a man who supported ministers was compelled to eat his words, then he himself was not competent to such a task; and until his condemnation was pronounced by some higher authority than that of his present opponent he should remain satisfied.

After some debate on the irregularity of

the accounts, in every respect similar to that of Friday night, the question for the second reading was carried in the affirmative.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, that the sum of £2,100,000 be raised by loan on Exchequer Bills. Agreed to.

Tuesday, February 9.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At four o'clock (the Speaker not being present), the senior clerk informed the House, that he this morning received a letter from Mr. Speaker, and directing him to communicate the same to the House.

The letter was dated Palace Yard, February 9, 1802, and was nearly to the following effect:—"Sir, his Majesty having "been graciously pleased to signify his "intention of conferring upon me the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, it becomes, in consequence thereof, my duty "to resign the chair of the House of Commons. I have to request, Sir, that you "will communicate the same to the House "at their meeting this day. I must intreat you, at the same time, to express "in the strongest terms the regret I feel, at "quitting the high situation to which their "favour raised me, and my gratitude for "the uniform support I experienced from "them, in my humble attempts of discharging the duties of that important "office.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that he had only to state that his Majesty, in consequence of the event mentioned in the letter which had been read, gave leave to that House to the choice of a speaker, who was to be presented for the royal approbation on Thursday next, in the House of Peers, at two o'clock. He then moved that the House should adjourn till to-morrow.

Wednesday, February 10.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Master of the Rolls, after passing a high eulogium on the speaker, who had just resigned the chair, and also on his predecessor, proposed *Mr. Abbot* as the successor of *Sir John Mitford*. The motion was seconded by *Mr. Baker*,

Mr. Sheridan perfectly concurred in all that had been said in praise of Sir John Mitford and of the right hon. gentleman, who had just been proposed as his successor; but he thought, that the practice of looking into the profession of the law, for gentlemen to fill the chair of that House, was not warranted by the ancient custom of Parliament. He did not consider technical knowledge as a necessary qualification; and, in every case, he thought that no one should be chosen to fill this situation, while he held a place at the disposal of the crown; but rather, that the House should choose their speaker from among those, who were perfectly innependant of ministerial influence. The circumstance of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Abbott) being at a time of life, that promised his long continuance in the chair, had not much weight with Mr. Sheridan, unless, indeed, the right hon. gentleman would engage to remain there 'till death should remove him; but, it had but too often happened, that gentlemen, elected to the chair, although they uniformly declared it to be the highest object of their ambition, yet, had not, when a more convenient or advantageous office was offered them, the fortitude to resist the temptation. He concluded by proposing *Mr. Charles Dundas*, in which proposition he was supporten by *Lord George Cavendish* and *Mr. Courtenay*, the latter of whom, in alluding to a former speaker, observed, that it was remarkable, that the habit of impartiality which a speaker acquired, generally stuck to him when he quitted the chair, and there had been instances of gentlemen quitting that situation in consequence of being appointed to a high office under the crown, who had afterwards acted so perfectly impartially, in a dispute between their new friends and their old allies, that it was absolutely impossible to understand whether they supported their old allies or their new friends.

Mr. Abbott said, that, when he reflected upon the learning, the talents, and the virtues, which had for so many centuries dignified that chair, he could not but be apprehensive of his own insufficiency to fill it with that dignity and ability which so important an office demanded. If an ardent zeal for the maintenance of our constitution, if the most rooted attachment to the privileges of that House, if the most sincere admiration of its admirable forms of proceeding, might be supposed to operate upon the House in the decision it was going to make, he trusted these qualifications belonged in common to all its members. If the House should be pleased to give its indulgent support to any member in that office, he might accomplish much

but, without that support, every effort would be unavailing.

Mr. Charles Dundas expressed his desire to remain a private member, and, after paying some compliments to the talents and virtues of Mr. Abbot, concluded by requesting Mr. Sheridan to withdraw his motion.

After some observations from Messrs. *Ormsby*, *Archdale*, and *J. H. Browne*, all of whom supported the motion of the Master of the Rolls, and concurred in all the praises, which had been bestowed on Mr. Abbot, who was unanimously elected.

Thursday, February 11.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The commission having been read, appointing Lords Eldon, Walsingham, and Hobart, to approve of Mr. Abbot, as Speaker of the House of Commons,

Mr. Abbot (who came at the head of the members of the House of Commons) addressed the Lords Commissioners as follows; "In obedience to his Majesty's commands, his faithful Commons of the United Realm of Great-Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, have proceeded to the election of a speaker, and in consequence of which, it becomes my duty to acquaint your lordships, that the high and distinguished honour of their choice has fallen upon me.—Impressed as I fully am with the deepest sense of the very arduous and important duties of that high and honourable trust, I have necessarily to regret that their choice has not been better made, and I am fully persuaded that his Majesty's faithful Commons would have ample cause to express their gratitude to the Throne were it his Majesty's royal pleasure to command them to proceed to another election."

The Lord Chancellor replied, that his Majesty being perfectly satisfied with his experience of the prudence and wisdom manifested by his faithful Commons in repeated former elections, of persons to fulfil the arduous duties of the great and important situation to which their choice had elevated the member now presented for the royal approbation, his Majesty entertained no doubt of his (Mr. Abbot's) talents, diligence, and sufficiency to discharge the arduous and important duties of that situation. Then, addressing Mr. Abbot, on the part of the Lords Commissioners, the Lord Chancellor proceeded thus; "Considering "the election made by his Majesty's faithful Commons, we cannot but deem you "as the person best qualified to fulfil these "duties; we are impressed to a certain degree with the sentiments which you have "expressed, but, at the same time, reflecting how great is the encouragement "to be derived from the wisdom and temper always manifested by his Majesty's "faithful Commons, in their parliamentary "functions, notwithstanding the arduous "and important nature of these duties "which you are elected to discharge, it "is with the highest satisfaction we see, "that the choice made by the Commons, "has been followed by the approbation of "his Majesty. We, therefore, Sir, have "it in command from his Majesty to notify "and declare, that his Majesty is graciously pleased fully to allow, and highly "to approve, of the choice made by his "faithful Commons of a Speaker. We "hereby, by virtue of his Majesty's commission, and in his name, and by his "Majesty's authority, allow and confirm "their said choice."

The Speaker then replied to the following effect:—"My Lords, I humbly submit "to his Majesty's royal pleasure, and beg "to return my most grateful thanks for the "high and distinguished honour of his "royal approbation. It will become my "duty to assert and maintain the ancient "and undoubted rights of the Commons "House of Parliament; and should I, in "the discharge of my various important "and arduous duties, commit any involuntary error, I entreat it may be imputed to *me* alone, and not laid to the account of his Majesty's loyal and faithful "Commons."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Speaker having taken the chair, said, it was his duty to acquaint the House, that the Lords, authorized by virtue of his Majesty's commission, had signified his Majesty's most gracious approbation of his (Mr. Abbot's) election to be Speaker of that honourable House. It was also his duty to return his most sincere and grateful acknowledgements to the House for the honour it had done him in making him the object of its choice. As the best proof of the sincerity of his gratitude, he hoped the House would always find in him the most unremitting exertions in the discharge of the arduous duties of that office in which their kindness had placed him, the most prompt obedience to the collective sense

of the House, and the strongest disposition to afford every assistance to their labours individually. But to render these exertions really serviceable, he had most earnestly to entreat the assistance of the House, which alone could enable him to support their authority, to maintain their ancient and undoubted privileges, to uphold the regularity of their proceedings, and to preserve their inestimable forms of proceeding, because these forms were the best safeguard for their privileges, and their privileges were the rights of the People.

After the presenting of certain petitions, the House adjourned, having previously resolved to go into a committee of ways and means, and of supply to-morrow.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Italian Republic.

One must be condemned to live under a republican government, to have courage sufficient to read the discussion of the voluminous and complicated, though incomplete, constitution, which the supreme arbiter of nations has just bestowed upon Italy. But men who are strangers to this political farce, have, as yet, the privilege of enquiring what new degree of power, and consequently what fresh instrument of conquest and destruction, this constitution puts into the hands of the disturber of the universe. We have connected these two ideas of conquest and destruction, because the French Republican Government, under whatever name it has existed, has never separated them; but has ever followed up the conquest of a country by the total destruction of every thing which anteriorly existed in it. Let us, therefore examine into the additional power which France derives from this new acquisition.

The following are the attributes which Buonaparté has conferred upon himself, and which will, of course, be claimed by his successor.

By section VIII, he has the privilege of arranging all the laws and diplomatic negotiations. He *exclusively* exercises the executive power, by means of ministers whom he may choose or revoke. He cannot indeed, dismiss the minister of justice, but he can deprive him of all but his title, and entrust his functions to another. (Sect. X.) Besides the ministers, he also appoints the diplomatic and civil agents, the chiefs of the army and the generals. He appoints the vice president, who should remain in office as long as the president who appointed him. But as a corrective, this vice president only represents him in such things as the former thinks proper to confide to him. (Sect. VIII.) In other respects, he is a dwarf placed in the great chair of the president, when the latter is absent. Lastly, he appoints the members of the *legislative council*, who are only a kind of secretaries, and these he may revoke at the expiration of three years. (Sect. XI.) Such is the authority that Buonaparté has personally conferred upon himself for ten years, over the Italian Republic.

The following are held out as checks to the above. The college of proprietors of the funds, consisting of 300 members; those of commerce and education, each of 200. The first of these three colleges elects its own new members itself; all are elected for life; but in order to annul their influence, the president alone may convoke them every two years. They are only assembled once a fortnight, can only determine, without discussion, and by a secret scrutiny, doubtless rather for the purpose of concealing their shame than for strengthening their courage. In short all the three colleges proceed from a censorship of 21 members, the existence of which is still more ephemeral than that of the colleges, for it is of ten days only in every two years. This censorship, which is too small in point of number to suffer an individual to escape the observation of the president, makes appointments to all the places under government (the gift of which he has not reserved to himself), out of lists that have been formed by the colleges, which have scarcely any other employment than the forming of these lists of eligibility. The censorship appoints, in particular, the legislative body. This body, which ought to be the principal bulwark of public liberty, is, in fact, only an emanation from the will of the president. It is moreover dumb, like the other bodies, and, for the same reasons, it votes by a secret scrutiny. In short, to obviate every kind of connection and understanding between these different bodies, one of the colleges is to assemble at Milan, another at Bologna, and the third at Brescia, while the censorship is established at Cremona.

To complete this edifice of despotism, there was still wanting a body to bear all the odium that might arise from the acts of the president. It was for this pur-

pose that the legislature wisely created the consulta of state, consisting of eight members. By articles 58, 59, and 61, the consulta may keep in prison, beyond the term, fixed by the law, for proceeding to trial, or may banish from the capital, any individual whatever; it may declare out of the protection of the law either an officer of state, or a whole department, upon the request, or rather at the command, of the president; for, to be perfectly the master in this new inquisition, he is to be the first mover of all the affairs which are brought forward in the consulta, where also he has a casting voice. In short, such is the inertness of all this political mass, that none of its parts, without exception, can make the least movement, without the authority of the president; and what completely ensures the absolute dominion of Buonaparté is, that all the numerous elements of this complicated government have been chosen conformably to his will.

If the object of the First Consul be not to add another state to the territory and power of France, without deigning to communicate the information to Europe, otherwise than by the French gazettes, what can it be? Let us suppose that the King of Prussia were to invite the Elector of Hanover to Berlin, to extort from him the cession of the country of Hanover, I ask whether the whole of Europe would not take up arms to resist such an attack? What, then, can suppress the general indignation which ought to break forth against such audacity as the present? If it be fear, it must at last be avowed, that Europe is enslaved! If it be the small importance that is attached to the new state which Buonaparté has just adopted, those who are so easily reconciled to the passing events should be informed what this Cisalpine Republic really is. It is the richest and most fertile country of Europe; and its population is at present upwards of four millions of souls. Its frontier next to Austria is as well prepared for the defensive as it is formidable for the offensive. One side, extending along the Adriatic, threatens the most remote possessions of the Emperor. It borders upon all Switzerland, from St. Bernard to the Tyrol. The other states of Italy either tremble before it, or aspire to be united with it. The Dutchy of Parma has already been sold to it for 80 millions of livres of Milan, or nearly £2,600,000 sterling. Who does not see that the provisory government of Lucca, and probably that of Genoa, or at least as far as that city, will very shortly be united to it? For what an absurdity would be the existence of republics in Italy distinct from the Italian Republic. This immediate accession would increase the population of the Cisalpine Republic to nearly five millions, and would give it, in the Mediterranean, the excellent port of Spezzia. Such is the state which Buonaparté has just acquired, and over which he has, in his own name, an acknowledged authority, more absolute and more complete than that which the Emperor of Russia possesses over his own immense Empire.

Others are reconciled, because the evil being already accomplished, and because the ascendancy which the preponderance of France gives to the Consul over the Italian Republic cannot be augmented by any proceeding of the Cisalpins. To perceive how defective this reasoning is, we need only examine whether in the present, and certainly extreme state of dependance of Holland upon France, the French Government will not be in want of more address, longer time and greater discretion, to obtain what it may wish to obtain from the Dutch Government, than Buonaparté is in need of, to acquire what he will from the Cisalpine Republic. Buonaparté may speak in a menacing tone to Holland, in the name of France; but there will follow objections, remonstrances, and perhaps refusals; and when he has overcome these difficulties, he will still experience delays, and perhaps great inaccuracy in the execution of his wishes. The president of the Cisalpine Republic, on the contrary, will command and cause to be executed by his immediate creatures in the Cisalpine territory, whatever he may have planned as Consul of France, or simply as Buonaparté: to his direct authority he will join his influence as chief of the great nation, and who will dare to disobey or evade his orders?

This same appointment increases and strengthens the dominion of Buonaparté over France. After having subjected the Cisalpine Republic, as Consul and as President, if an extraordinary effort should become necessary against any party in France, all the forces of the Cisalpine may be brought over Mount Canis, the Simplon, and St. Gothard, into all the eastern provinces of ancient France, from the Rhine to the Mediterranean.

One word more on the metamorphosis

of the Cisalpine into the Italian Republic. The French Government has insisted upon the renunciation of the obliterated title of King of France, which was taken by the Kings of England. His Majesty renounced it himself, in the time of war, that a frivolous obstacle to a conclusion of peace might be previously removed. Are there then two codes of laws of nations, the one for France, and the other for the rest of Europe? If the Italian Republic pretends to no authority over the other states of Italy, why has she assumed this title against the very principles, which the French Government has supported against England? If she does possess it, whence has she derided it, but from her own arrogance and the pusillanimity of those, by whom that arrogance ought to be repressed? Surely, since the reign of Charles VII, no Frenchman has ever imagined that he owed, even secretly, any allegiance to the King of England? But who is there that does not see that the Italian Republic is the centre to which all the factious and malcontent Italians are invited to unite? Should they previously ask, "what shall we do when we have proscribed our sovereign?" an answer is ready. We shall become members of the Italian Republic. Those powers which have acknowleged the *Cisalpine* Republic, have, then, the right of refusing to acknowlege the *Italian* Republic, and nothing but the rankest folly or the rankest cowardice can deny, that it is their interest and their duty to make such refusal.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Constantinople, December 24.—The English ambassador, Lord Elgin, has concluded in the name of his Court, a separate Convention with the *Porte*, in which the latter, on account of the services rendered by the English in *Egypt*, has granted them certain privileges with regard to the *Levant* and *East-India* Trade, for three years. It is feared, however, that the French Government will not agree to this Convention, as *France* expects the same privileges as *England*, in that quarter.

Ratisbon, January 19.—The Elector of Mentz, before he gave in his resignation, invited his Chapter to renounce their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over that part of the Archbishopric which is on the left bank of the Rhine. The Chapter assembled at *Wurtzburg*, and complied with his request. In consequence of which, the Archbishop gave in his resignation: it was sent to the Count de Benst, at Paris.

Paris, February 5.—Citizen Sebastiani is arrived from Constantinople. He was presented yesterday to the First Consul, to whom he delivered a letter from Sultan Selim.

Citizen Sebastiani has made known to the First Consul the distinguished manner in which he was received by the Sultan and the chief officers of the Porte.

The Grand Seignior presented to Citizen Sebastiani a superb snuff-box, on which is designed, in diamonds, the seraglio, and a dove coming from France with peace. The Reis-Effendi gave him several fine pelisses, and the Captain Pacha made him a present of some superb schams. All expressed a desire for a long and sincere peace. The First Consul has sent a Prefect of the Palace to Ali Effendi, ambassador from the Porte at Paris, to make known to him that he is satisfied with the reception which Citizen Sebastiani received at his court.

February 6.—At the audience yesterday, Mr. Jackson, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty, presented to the First Consul, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Cahir, Lord Coleraine, Lord Henry Petty, Major-General Money, Sir Elijah Impey, and M. O'Byrne.

Amiens, February 1.—The Chevalier Azzara, Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Spain, to the Congress at Amiens, arrived in this town the day before yesterday at 5 *p. m.* His arrival was announced by the firing of cannon.

February 2.—The conferences are carried on with the greatest activity between Citizen Joseph Buonaparté, Plenipotentiary of the Republic, Lord Cornwallis, Plenipotentiary from England, the Chevalier d'Azzara, Plenipotentiary from Spain, and Citizen Shimmelpenninck, Plenipotentiary from Batavia.—There are no other Ministers at the Congress at Amiens.

An unprecedented degree of toleration has been granted by the Grand Signior to the Catholic Mission at Constantinople, viz. the Principal, a Jesuit, is permitted to erect a chapel and a dwelling-house in the suburb of Galata, and to take as many assistants as he may choose.

A new loan for a million of florins has been lately opened at Frankfort, at 4½ per cent. and an uncommon exportation of

goods from Lyons to Russia, by way of Frankfort, has lately been noticed.

From Upper Saxony is is stated, that the spouse of Louis XVIII. is preparing to leave the Castle at Wildungen, and remove to Warsaw, at which place part of her retinue had arrived.

Amsterdam, January 30.—The finances of this city being in a most deplorable situation, a plan for negotiating a loan for its relief has been submitted to the Government of the State, which, however, as yet, has been attended with no success. A commission from the Intermedial Common Government, lately dispatched to the Hague for urging this business, has returned with the simple promise of the Treasurer General, that considering the pressing necessity of our city, he would lay the matter before the Government of State without delay.

Stutgard, January 17.—From Munchen, we hear, that, by virtue of a new ordinance, the tenth part of all the incomes of the Ecclesiastics, the churches, and religious institutions, must be thrown into the Treasury chest of the State.

Constantinople, Dec. 30. The following particulars are now known as to the murder of the Pacha of Belgrade. The Janissaries who detained him prisoner had discovered a correspondence which that unfortunate old man had contrived to carry on with his son, in which he excited him to leave no means untried for the deliverance of his father, and the recovery of the fortress for its lawful governor. In the interim, it seems that the chiefs of the Janissaries did not consider this as a sufficient cause to treat their prisoner with additional rigour, and they contented themselves with redoubling their vigilance, in cutting him off from all exterior communication. But this sentiment of compassion was not sufficient to save the Pacha's life. The report of the secret correspondence soon raised murmurs among the inferior Janissaries. The 27th of December, at two o'clock in the afternoon, three of them, who made a part of the guard, rushed into his apartment, compelled him, with their Sabres at his breast, to make a discovery of his treasures, and afterwards dispatched him. The chiefs, however, who either could not, or would not, prevent this inhuman act, took every necessary precaution for securing the quiet of the city. And the next day the Pacha was peaceably interred. From the conduct of the Janissaries, since this event, it seems that they are divided into two parties, one of which appears to desire a closer union with Paswan Oglou, the other, perfect submission to the Turkish court. The Porte, it is expected, will shortly redouble its efforts against the rebellious Pacha, and also direct the military operations against Belgrade, should it be found necessary. The Captain Pacha, lately returned from Egypt, has already received orders to put himself at the head of a numerous land force, which will be aided by a respectable armed flotilla on the Danube, to which service the High Admiral has invited several English officers.

Extract of a Letter from Cadiz, dated 18th January, 1802. "The French troops em-"barked this day on board the ships of "war now in the harbour. The division "consists of three sail of the line, and as "many frigates, under the command of "Admiral Linois. They are destined for "St. Domingo, to assist in the reduction of "Touissant. This is the opinion given out "here; but it would not surprize me, if "they were bound to Louisiana."—On the authenticity of this article our readers may depend.

Milan, Jan. 21. Yesterday arrived here the remains of our late Archbishop. They will be exposed for several days in the archiepiscopal palace. His obsequies will be solemnly performed in the metropolitan church.

Berlin, Jan. 16. The cotton machines which have been brought to such perfection in England, and which have been introduced into France with so much advantage to her manufactures, begin also to make some progress in this country. The house of Bernheuds and Cohen have formed, with the aid of an English merchant, and of that excellent Prussian mechanic Zacharias, a machine of more than one thousand spindles, which is worked with extreme ease, and of every part of which the workmen are made to preserve exact models, in order to facilitate the multiplication of these machines. Three hundred thousand crowns are appropriated to the purposes of this establishment, which is under the special protection of the King. The perfection of the machine induces us to hope that we shall be able to enter into a competition with England.

Berne, January 28.

Head Quarters, 7th Pluviose, 10th Year.

The General of Division, Montrichard, Commander of the French Troops in Helvetia, to the Minister of War.

I have the honour to inform you, Citizen Minister, that having been informed that the inhabitants of several Communes of the Canton of Zurich had assembled in arms, I marched out the Garrison of this place with a piece of cannon. These insurgents, who had met under the pretext of the payment of certain duties, and the nomination of certain public functionaries, dispersed themselves on the approach of our troops, and these Communes are restored to order. Though this event is of very small importance, yet I thought it my duty to inform you of it, as malevolent reports have already been circulated that the rebels had got possession of the town of Zurich.

Health and Respect,

Montrichard.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The court-martial which dismissed the gallant Sir Edward Hamilton from the service, was grounded on the report of a previous court of enquiry; and it is somewhat extraordinary, that Vice Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchel, the president, and Rear Admiral Collingwood, two of the officers who signed the report, should sit as members of the court-martial. It appears, that Sir E. Hamilton's objections to their incompetency to sit as judges at his trial were over-ruled! A question therefore arises, whether this court-martial was legally constituted? It is laid down, on unquestionable authority, by our writers on military law and naval courts-martial (namely, by *Adye and Tytler on Military Law*, and by *M'Arthur on Naval Courts Martial)* that the members composing a court of enquiry are incapacitated to sit as judges of the court-martial, upon a similar principle as laid down by Blackstone, that the members of the grand jury are not competent to be empannelled into the subsequent petty jury, on the same cause. So jealous is the law, of the perfect impartiality of jurors, that it is allowed to be a good challenge that the juror has been heard to give his opinion beforehand that the party is guilty. On a similar ground of challenge against the member of a court-martial, it ought, on every sound principle, surely to be sustained. Courts of enquiry in the navy, as well as in the army, are only re cognized by usage, and are not, strictly speaking, founded on law. No oath is administered to the members, or to the witnesses; hence, even should the officers of the previous enquiry not sit as members of the court-martial, there may be an impropriety in reading and putting upon record the opinion of a court of enquiry, as tending to prejudge and make unfavourable impressions on the minds of the members of such court-martial.

Six Deputies have arrived from Malta bringing a memorial, the object of which is, *to solicit His Majesty to keep possession of that island.* The Deputies are, the Marquis Testaferrata, of a very noble family, grandee of Spain; Lieut. Governor Castagna deputy of the two cities Bormolo and Seaglia; Mr. Cachia, the representative of Zitura; Mulia, Lieut. Governor, and first Senator of Gozo; and two Maltese priests. The memorial has been laid before Government, but as to the result, nothing has yet transpired.

A court-martial was held on board the Cambridge, of 84 guns, Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart. Captain Lane, in Hamoaze on the 4th inst. on Lieutenant Hicks, one of the Lieutenants of the Cambridge, for repeatedly sleeping out of the ship, contrary to orders. After hearing the evidence against Lieut. Hicks, and his defence, they adjudged him to be dismissed His Majesty's service. He has a wife and five children.

It is confidently stated, that Denmark has acceded to the convention formed between England and Russia in June last.

The Gazette of last Saturday contains an account of a very gallant exploit performed by two boats with eighteen men in each, belonging to the Lark, lying off Port Antonio. On Sept. 17, they attacked a Spanish schooner, lying close in shore and after a severe contest, boarded and captured her. One of the men was killed and thirteen wounded.

Three thousand guineas for a service of plate have been voted in the handsomest manner, by the House of Assembly of Jamaica, to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, in testimony of the gratitude of the Assembly for his exertions in Parliament in favour of their interests.

The account received some days ago, of the loss of His Majesty's sloop Utile, of 18 guns, Capt P. Canes, is confirmed by intelligence brought by the Prince Adolphus Packet from Lisbon. She was bound to Minorca and Malta, with money to pay

the troops, and unfortunately overset in a violent gale of wind, in the Gut of Gibraltar. It was feared that all the crew had perished.

Letters from Gibraltar, dated the 22d ult. mention, that Rear Admiral Sir J. Saumarez, K. B. had dispatched the Warrior, of 74 guns; Zealous, 74; Defence, 74; and Bellona of 74, after Gantheaume's squadron, which passed the Gut the 20th ult. in the night, but their destination unknown.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d Foot, is appointed Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the forces in Ireland, vice Crawford, appointed Adjutant-General to the King's troops in India.

Sir John Mitford is to be created a Baron, before his departure to take upon him the Chancellorship of Ireland.

There are no less than six editions of Shakspeare now printing in Paris, and many other distinguished productions of English literature are also in hand. So many Englishmen are now at Paris, who have no other resource but as editors of English works, that we have reason to be alarmed at the progress of the Gallic press, particularly as it can afford to send its labours into the world at much cheaper rates than those of this country. *

* We have extracted this article from a daily print, in order to remove the "alarm" which it expresses. English books have, for fifty years past, been printed at Paris, at Basle, at Frankfort, at the Hague, and at Hamburgh, much cheaper than they could possibly be printed in this kingdom. In fact, we have long since had no market for books on the Continent, except it be to supply those who will have *London editions*, be the price what it may. This market we shall still preserve. As to the King's dominions, it is always in our power to prevent any part of them from being supplied with books printed in foreign countries. There remains, then, only the market of the United States of America to be disputed with us, and in that country we can have no rival but the *American press*, which *now* turns off books at a lower price than they can be printed and shipped from France. We send no books to America, except such as are quite new, and such as are exclusively calculated for England and America, Dictionaries and Law books, for instance, neither of which would be worth printing in France merely for the sake of supplying America. Instead, therefore, of being alarmed at the present employment of the Paris press, we sincerely wish it may never have any thing more mischievous in hand than the diffusion of English literature. In reference to the *duty on printing paper*, we shall just observe, that the only question for the consideration of the minister, is, whether the continuation of the new duty will, upon the whole, render the tax *more productive* than it would be if that duty were taken off. If it will, it ought to be continued; if it will not, it ought to be taken off.

A munificent benefaction has been sent to Greenwich Hospital and the Chest at Chatham by an unknown gentleman. It is noticed in the Gazette of Tuesday night in the following manner: — "A gentleman, who will not permit his name to be known, having by a confidential friend sent to Lord Hood, Governor of Greenwich Hospital, the amount of the sale of ten thousand pounds in the Three per Cent. Consols for the use and benefit of the said Hospital; the Governors and Directors take this method of returning their most grateful thanks for the very generous gift. This truly benevolent gentleman has also given the like sum to the Chest at Chatham."

The Arethusa frigate arrived at Portsmouth on Wednesday, with Brigadier General Clinton and suite, from Madeira. Before the Arethusa left the Island, the greater part of the British troops there had embarked on board the De Ruyter and Calcutta for the West-Indies.

It is generally believed, that Mr. Wickham will be appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

After reading the volumes of treatises, which French generosity has, since the month of September last, distributed amongst the nations of Europe; after having witnessed twelve years of aggressions, encroachments, invasions, pillage, and massacre, it is no weak proof of the imbecility and perverseness of the human mind, that Englishmen should seem astonished at the scene which has lately been exhibited at Lyons, and that they should feel alarm at the fate of the Italian Republic, while they illuminate their houses to celebrate the deed, by which Belgium and Holland, by which the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, by which Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, by which Guiana and Louisiana, the Amazons and the Mississippi, are placed for ever in the hands of France, and by which the commerce of the world is shifted from us to our most powerful rival, and most malignant and implacable foe. The Italian Republic is, indeed, by this last act of Buonaparté, rendered totally at the disposal of French government, and most persons in France regard the formality as extremely impolitic; but no one, who is acquainted with the character and views of the rulers of that country, can possibly be astonished

at the measure. The character which Mr. Pitt, in his famous speech of the 3d of February, 1800, drew of Buonaparté, is perfectly just; but it is not more applicable to the Corsican than it is to his French coadjutors, who, however they may hate one another, are, with respect to foreign nations, all animated by the same spirit, and whose ambition is such, that, after having conquered and desolated the earth, they would, were it in their power, scale the walls of Heaven, and dispossess the Almighty.

The exhibition at Lyons is but a sort of prologue to other and more serious encroachments. The new kingdom of Etruria, Naples, the States of the Church, Switzerland, Holland, and, in short, all the mock governments, with which France has surrounded herself, will, one after another, be chained to the chariot wheels of their conqueror. When this scheme is accomplished, the much-boasted system of representative government, and all those liberties which have, indeed, never existed but in name, will lose even that name. Were we to judge from the language of the Moniteur, which, on such a subject, is no bad criterion, we should think, that the rulers of France are already endeavouring to prepare the minds of the people for such a change. That print has lately, in speaking of a house demolished in the Rue St. Honoré, taken occasion to quote a fable of La Mothe on elective government, which fable, after describing the folly of those animals which, in climbing up to gather the fruit of a tree, shook it down into the mouth of a wise monkey that lay waiting underneath, concludes thus:

" Le peuple décerna la puissance à son bon sens,
" On n'est roi que par la prudence."

On the other hand, we cannot help remarking with what derision the same print treats this sort of government in Holland, where, it observes, that citizen Gockinger, having been named as a member of the council, " le gouvernement est, donc, *au complet*," a phrase never used in French, except it be applied to a regiment or company of soldiers, or a ship's crew. If we add to this the incessant care, which is taken to produce changes in the governments of these little subaltern republics, and the address which is used to keep them in a state of continual discord, in order to furnish the people with a pretext for calling in the superior wisdom and virtue of Buonaparté or his successor, the intention of France becomes too evident to admit of doubt; and, it is strongly conjectured, that Lyons has been chosen, on the present occasion, in pursuance of a project, which has been formed for making that city the capital of the new empire of the Gauls. This conjecture is strongly corroborated by the device of a medal, which has just been struck at Lyons, and which, doubtless, was not struck without the approbation of Buonaparté. The device is in these words: " Auspice Buonaparté inter Gallos Gallo-" rum nepotes Cisalpini antiquum fœdus " renovantes gentem suam legibus condi-" derunt Lugduni Anno X. Reip. Gal. That is: *Under the auspices of Buonaparté, the Cisalpins, descendants of the Gauls, renewing an ancient connexion, have formed their national constitution, in the bosom of Gaul, at Lyons, in the tenth year of the* REPUBLIC OF THE GAULS. The object of this medal (for the French do nothing without an object) is to prepare men's minds for the adoption of the proposed plan, and, on this occasion, we cannot but call to mind, that when one of the adulatory prefects praised Buonaparté for having extended the empire of France, the latter replied, that it was not *yet* nearly so extensive as in the time of Charlemagne.

It is in vain to hope, from the powers of Europe, any resistance to this gigantic scheme. They are all at the feet of Buonaparté. From England, indeed, one might have expected something like energy, when the liberties of the world were at stake; but, if we were now to talk of an interposition of that shield, under which Europe has so often found safety, the French would bid us remember, that they have now a fleet and army in the neighbourhood of Jamaica. Russia, too, might have afforded some foundation for hope; but what have we to expect from that power, after having witnessed the abandonment of Naples and Sardinia, in direct contradiction to its positive, solemn, and public declarations.

The French armament in the West-Indies has drawn out another detachment of our fleet. We heartily applaud this part of the measures of His Majesty's Ministers, and as heartily reprobate the senseless cavillings of those, who affect to be disappointed at the continuance of our warlike preparations. Every successive article of news, which reaches us from the West Indies, does but confirm our opinion of the non-resistance of Toussaint. We have before us, another proclamation of this negro-chief, issued on the 12th of December, in which we find the following sentence: " The sad experience I have just had " shall not be useless to me; and the " account of the misbehaviour of gen. " Moyse, no other general of division shall

"be appointed, *till new orders from the "French government.*" It is impossible to say what further evidence may be necessary to convince our economists of the necessity of keeping up our force in the vicinity of Saint Domingo; but, for our parts, we are well assured, that a powerful English fleet and army are, in that quarter, much more necessary than at any former period of our history, and we hope, that no paltry considerations of popularity will induce ministers to relax in their laudable measures of precaution. It is not a question of *expense*, but a question of *preservation*, which they have to discuss, and, in this instance, at least, we hope, that their councils will be marked wish vigilance and rigour. The French, though well assured of the willing obedience of Toussaint, continue to add to their armament; and it will be perceived by turning to our foreign intelligence, that, on the 18th of January, they dispatched a fresh supply of troops from Cadiz, with an additional squadron of frigates and ships of the line. Notwithstanding these mighty preparations, on the part of France, the Moniteur which always speaks the language of its masters, has the impudence to represent the suspicions, expressed in the British Parliament, as the dreams of fools and barbarians, and as *contrary to the law of nations*, on which latter point, an English ministerial print has the baseness to concur in its opinion, though the ministers themselves have confirmed the justness of the suspicion by no less an act than that of sending out a fleet and an army.

The Maltese deputation, of which our readers will see an account under the head of *domestic occurrences*, will hardly succeed in its object; and, though we would fain hope the contrary, we are much afraid, that the Turks will, by our pusillanimity, be compelled to ratify their treaty with France, which is to snatch from us all the commercial advantages, which were tendered to us by the gratitude of the Porte.

CRITICAL NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

15. *New Political Balance of Europe; or Thoughts on the Conditions of the General Peace about to be concluded.* This is a French work, by C. Bertolio, late ambassador from the French to the Roman republic, and is worth notice on no other account, than as it clearly discovers the opinions and designs of the rulers of France. The author contends, that no government is lawful but that of republics, and that France had not only a right to destroy her own monarchy, but that she had, and still has, a right to destroy all other monarchies. He applauds the seizure of Belgium and the territory of the German Princes, and strongly urges the necessity of extending the limits of France to what they were in times of old. He, doubtless, looks back to the reign of Charlemagne, which is an object that seems to be constantly in the view of those, without whose express permission his book could not have been published. All kings he styles tyrants, all kingdoms despotisms; and against the King of Naples, in particular, he takes occasion to utter a most bitter and blasphemous execration. The object of the work, which, as we observed before, could not have been published without the knowledge and consent of the rulers of France, certainly is to keep alive a hatred of the remaining monarchical government, and to prepare the minds of the people of Europe for submission to those further aggrandizements which France has in contemplation.

16. *Substance of the Speech delivered by Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, November 13, 1801, on the Motion for an Address, approving of the Convention with Russia.* In noticing the "Vindication of the Convention with Russia," (see p. 93) we observed, that those who had had the good fortune to hear the speech of Lord Grenville on the subject, would not be disposed to justify the abuse, and the affected contempt, which the author of the Vindication had thought proper to bestow on all those who regarded that convention as dangerous and dishonourable. That Speech is now printed, and, with the Notes and Appendix, which his Lordship has added to it, it is unquestionably the most able performance that ever has appeared on the question of maritime rights, a question which has been so often revived, and which must ever be so intimately connected with the interests and honour of this country, as long as it shall continue to be an independent naval power. We wish not to make invidious distinctions; but, feeling as we do the warmest attachment to our country, we cannot help lamenting that it was deprived of those talents, that wisdom, and that experience, which are so abundantly displayed in this Speech, and which would have effectually guarded against the perplexities, the disputes, and the dangers, which must inevitably arise from those unskilful negotiations that produced the convention with Russia.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

At the Court at the Queen's-House, the 3d of Feb. 1802, Present, the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

This day his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was, by his Majesty's command, introduced into the Privy Council for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, K. G. Lord President, and his Royal Highness took his place at the Board on his Majesty's left hand.

At the Court at the Queen's-House, the 3d of Feb. 1802, Present, the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

SHERIFFS APPOINTED BY HIS MAJESTY IN COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1802.

Bedfordshire.——John Higgins the younger, of Turvey, Esq.
Berkshire.——The Hon. Thomas Windsor, of Braywick.
Buckinghamshire.——James Oldham Oldham, of Missenden-Abbey, Esq.
Camb. and Hunt.——Thomas Aveling, of Whittlesea, Esq.
Cheshire.——Lawrance Wright, of Mottram St. Andrew, Esq.
Cumberland.——Edward Hasell, of Dalemain, Esq.
Derbyshire.——Thomas Princep, of Croxall, Esq.
Devonshire.——Postponed.
Dorsetshire.——Edmund Morton Pleydell, of Whatcombe, Esq.
Essex.——Robert Raikes, of Great Ilford, Esq.
Gloucestershire.——James Musgrave, of Barnsley-Park, Esq.
Herefordshire.——Thomas Debits, of the Apostles, Esq.
Hertfordshire.——Jacob Bosanquet, of Broxborn-Park, Esq.
Kent.——Thomas Jull Godfrey, of Ash, Esq.
Leicestershire——Postponed.
Lincolnshire.——Henry Dalton, of Naith, Esq.
Monmouthshire.——Thomas Morgan, of the Hill, Esq.
Norfolk ——Robert Wilson, of Didlington, Esq.
Northamptonshire.——Robert Cary Elwes, of Great Billing, Esq.
Northumberland.——Charles William Bigge, of Benton-House, Esq.
Nottinghamshire.——Robert Lowe, of Oxton, Esq.
Oxfordshire.——Thomas Toovey, of Nettlebed, Esq.
Rutlandshire.——William Gilson, of Burleigh, Esq.
Shropshire.——William Ferriday, of Dawla-Parva, Esq.
Somersetshire.——Benjamin Greenhill, of Stone Easton, Esq.
Staffordshire.——Robert Parker, of Park-Hall, Esq.
County of Southampton.——Sir Edward Hulse, of Breamore, Bart.
Suffolk.——Thomas Cocksedge, of Ingham, Esq.
Surrey.——Edward Peppin, of Walton-Lodge, Esq.
Sussex.——Sir William Ashburnham, of Broomham, Bart.
Warwickshire.——Heneage Legg, of Aston, Esq.
Wiltshire.——Sir Andrew Bayntun, of Spye-Park, Bart.
Worcestershire.——Thomas Newnham, of Broadwas, Esq.
Yorkshire.——Sir William Foulis, of Ingleby-Manor, Bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon.——Joseph Sparkes, of Penyworlod, Esq.
Carmarthen.——Postponed.
Cardiganshire.——Postponed.
Glamorganshire.——Richard Mansell Phillips, of Sketty-Hall, Esq.
Pembrokeshire.——David Lewis, of Hen-Lan, Esq.
Radnor.——John Sherburne, of Llandrindod, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey.——Postponed.
Carnarvon.——Robert Wynne, of Llannerch, Esq.
Denbigh.——Edward Lloyd Lloyd, of Penyllan, Esq.
Flint.——Sir Stephen Glynne, of Broad-Lane, Bart.
Merioneth.——John Meredith Mostyn, of Cleg[illegible], Esq.
Montgomery.——David Edward Lewis Lloyd, of [illegible] Farm, Esq.

PRINCE OF WALES'S COUNCIL.

County of Cornwall.

At a Council of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, held at Carlton-House, the 4th day of February 1802, Thomas Carlyon, of Tregrehan, Esq. was appointed Sheriff of the County of Cornwall, for the year 1802, by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Council.

Promotions.—Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, of the 36th foot, to be Brigadier General in the Army serving in the Mediterranean only. Thomas Asten Coffin, Esq. to be Commissary of Accompts in British North America.

His Majesty has appointed Alexander Fraser Tytler, Esq. to be a Judge of the Court of Session, in the room of the late Lord Stonefield.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—At Drum House, on the 30th ult. Lady Mary Hay, of a daughter.

Marriages.—At Edinburgh, on the 1st inst. John Stein, Esq. M. P. to Miss Bushby, daughter of John Bushby, Esq. of Tinwald Downs.—On the 29th ult. at the Lord Justice Clerk's, James Boyd, Esq. to Miss Douglas, eldest daughter of the late Lieutenant General Douglas, of the 5th Dragoon Guards.—At Stitchel House, on the 1st inst. Archibald Tod, Esq. of Drygrange, W. S. to Miss Elizabeth Pringle, second daughter of Sir James Pringle, of Stitchel, Bart.

Deaths.—At Edinburgh, on the 30th ult. Mr. George Maclaurin, writer, second son of the late Lord Berhorn.—Tuesday the 2d inst. at his house at Twickenham, in the 89th year of his age, the Right Honourable Welbore Ellis Agar, Lord Mendip.—At Bath, after a few minutes indisposition, the Earl of Ashmore, of Castle Coombe, in the County of Fermanagh.—On Thursday the 4th inst. the Countess of Leicester.—On Tuesday last, at his house in Manfield Street, Portland Place, the Duke of St. Albans.—Same day, Admiral Graves.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.—Monday, Feb. 8th, 68⅞ 69.—Tues. 9th, 69 68⅞ 69⅛ 69.—Wednesday 10th, 69⅛ ⅜ ⅝ ½.—Thursday 11th, 69⅜ ¼ ½.—Friday 12th, 69½ ¼ ⅜.——AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight per cent. 12th Jan. 115¼.——FRENCH STOCKS.—Three Consolidés, 8th Feb. 55 francs, 58 cents.

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